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INTRODUCTION

THE Subject I have here undertaken is so Nice, and a plain treating of it so Difficult, so Dangerous, and especially in me so liable to the Censures of Prejudices on both Sides, that it has been with some Hesitation that I go about it.

Not that I am so Solicitous of whom I please or displease, in my handling this Nice Affair; for he that is so, can never speak with an impartial Freedom; a Liberty absolutely necessary to the clear stating Things of doubtful Acceptation, and a Liberty which when I cease to preserve to my self, I shall cease to write at all.

It is very hard with me in this Case, more than with any other Author; in that, whereas others are wary in what they Write, for fear of displeasing the Government, and irritating Men in Power; my Difficulty is a Clamour raised by them, who without Arrogance I may say, cannot Confute me, pretending that I am too Careful to please Men in Power; in which as

my Lord *Rochester* said of his *Whore*, I have the Scandal without the Joy, the Reproach without the Profit of the Charge: But as the same Men brought the same Charge, when the other Party was in Power, and thought it as much a Crime, I appeal to all the World, what heed ought to be given to their Censure; I only introduce this with a brief Challenge to them, let them find any change of Principle in all I have written, if they can; and if what I wrote under the late Ministry and under this Ministry agrees, it must be some Body else that has changed Principle, not me, let the Issue determine it.

I would be glad to please every Body; but my Aim is to speak Truth with Honesty; if it please no Body, I am not Sollicitous, so it be but Truth and Honesty; he that can say it is not, let him stand forth and be seen; he that cannot contradict the Truth I speak, will have but small Success in Calumniating the Honesty with which I speak it.

And yet I had not entred now upon this Subject, but that the Writers of the Town (according to the Usage I have some Years been treated with) laying all their Ballards at my Door, and almost every Book being called mine, as well of one Side as the other, I thought my self a little

little obliged to declare my self, and let you all know my Notions of Things, with my Name to them, that I may no longer bear the Scandals of the present Filth of the Press, (with Pardon for that Expression.)

Hitherto I have said nothing on the Subject, nor do I purpose to say any thing but what I will fairly own and defend; and that I hope, may answer the People who call every thing they don't like by my Name.

I am not apt to make Apologies, and I entreat the Reader to place this Impertinence to the account of the Ages Follies, which oblige me to it, in Order to Defend my self from a Charge so Unjust, as that of being the Author of Books which I never gave my self the Trouble so much as to read.

AN
ESSAY, &c.

PEACE, (without other Encomiums) it is sufficient to say, merits every Man's Approbation, and tho' the whole Town is agitated and angry about it; yet no Man will be found among us, but what will readily own he is for P E A C E.

It would be happy for us all, if we could talk of Peace with a little more of it in our Tempers, that we could be at Peace when we pretend to desire Peace; it is to me the strangest Thing in the World, that we are all falling together by the Ears, and making War about Peace. If you talk of one Man, who otherwise we lik'd well enough, hang him, he is a ~~Rogue, he is come over, he is for Peace.~~ The other Side are even with us, and they talking with this or that Acquaintance; who? Tom..... or Jack?.... Ay, He is an Honest Fellow enough, a good Natur'd Fellow enough, but he is got in
with

with these furious People, he is all for Blood, nothing but carrying on the War, and pushing all things to Extremities; Death and Destruction are always in his Mouth, he is Mad if you do but talk of Peace to him.

Unhappy Nation! What End can these Things lead us to? Not a Publick Society, not a Coffee-house, not a Meeting of Friends, not a Visit; but like *Jehu to Jezebel, who is on my Side?* Who? Who is for Peace? Who is for carrying on the War? Society is converted into Cabal, all Publick Meetings appear sorted into Committees, or bandyed into Sides as their Notions of Peace or War encline them.

I cannot but make one brief Observation, which may have some Philosophy in it; and I dare say it is all natural; the Note may have its Uses in it, which every one may improve as they see fit. When you find Men sitting in a Publick Room, say a Coffee-house, or Tavern, and talking of the Publick, Two to One of my Money, before you hear a Word they say that I tell you at first who are for Peace, and who are for War. The Gentlemen who are for P E A C E, you hear them but at a small Distance, their Voices are low, their Speech deliberate, their Words are soft, calm, and spoken easie like the Subject they speak of.

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The other Side that are for War, you may hear them into the Street, or down the Stairs, their Voices are Thunder; they speak the Word War with something of the Noise of War, as if they were giving in the Field the Word of Command, or bidding a Platoon give Fire. Again, look in their Faces, the Men of Peace have it in their Countenances, their Faces are covered with Smiles, a sort of Calm and Smoothness of Temper sits on their Brow; they look pleased and serene, like the Spirit that possesses them. The Men that are for War seem in a Ferment, their Eyes sparkle, something Boisterous appears in their Faces, they look as uneasy as they talk, and the aversion they have to Peace, shows it self in their Countenances; some cross Lines seem to be drawn over their Faces, by which they discover the Temper they stand in as to the Thing that they have in Debate.

Well however, come near to these Gentlemen, and Argue closely with them, and you shall find them all join in this, that Peace in its general Acceptation is a Blessing, which no Man can have a real stated Aversion to; the Off-spring of Heaven, and an Emblem of Eternal Blessedness; no Man can open his Mouth against Peace, *as such*; nor are the Gentlemen I am speaking of, who are a-
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gainst Peace at this Time, against it in this Sense; let no Man mistake me, I am not writing a Satyr against any Body. 'Tis the unhappy Circumstances of the present National Temper, *that I am speaking of*, that we are uneasy to one another, Differing, Disputing, Caballing, and sometimes downright Quarelling; *and about what?* Not Peace in General, no; every one is for that; but the Peace now to be treated of between the Confederates and the King of France, that's the Uneasiness.

Nor *to do every one Justice* is the Question among us, whether we shall make Peace with France or no; every Man of Sense, every Man of Principle, every Man that has any Knowledge of the Circumstances of the Nation, or Concern for its Prosperity and Happiness, wishes for Peace, no Man will say that he is not for Peace; the very War is made for Peace; it is the Condition of every Manifesto, every Declaration, all the Alliances, all the Articles of the Confederacies, which lay down the Causes and Beginnings of the War, are full of it. Peace, Peace; to restore the Tranquillity of Europe, to restore the Liberty of Europe, to restore the Ballance of Power in Europe, the whole War turns upon this Point. And to be very plain, the Justice, the Honour, and the Reputation of the

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Confederacy can be supported, and defended upon no other Foundation, nothing else can justify the Allies for taking up Arms, neither do they pretend to any other Justification of it; *the Word is*, the Necessity they are driven to, there being no other way left them to obtain Peace. Indeed, no War is just, but what is made for Peace; nothing but Peace can make War lawful. So that Peace being the only thing pretended to in the undertaking this War, for any Man to say they do not desire Peace, is to say, they Fight as the Great *Turk* does, for his Pleasure, for Encrease of his Dominions, for Conquest, and the extending his Power; which is just as much to be Defended as the Pyrates of *Madagascar*, or as Robbing on the Highway, and no other wise.

But to come to the Point, the particular Objection lies another way; it is not a Peace in General that our People object against, but the Nature and Circumstances of the Peace; and here we give the Peace an *Epithet*, which requires some Enquiry into; A GOOD PEACE, this is the Distinction, this alone it is that our whole Dispute turns upon, and the Exposition of the true Meaning, or Acceptation of this Word, is the Subject of this Undertaking.

A GOOD PEACE say the Objectors we are all for, but not such a Peace as you would have, or as you would make; and this is the state of the Case. Two Men quarrelling together in this Town, One a *West* Countryman, the other a *North* Countryman; among some Scurrility that past between them, says *West* to his Antagonist, I am no *Yorkshireman*; why, says *North*, *What have you to say to Yorkshire?* Are there not a great many Honest Men in *Yorkshire*? I would have you know, *There are as Honest Men in Yorkshire, as in any Part of England*; Ay, ay, says *West*, that may be true for ought I know; *but that is called Honesty in Yorkshire, which is not Honesty in other Places.*

This is something like our Case; as one Sort who are charg'd with being against Peace justify themselves, and say no, we are not against Peace, but are for a *Good Peace* or none. So those on the other Side, who are for Peace say, they are for no Peace but a *Good Peace* also. But the Case will lye very much here, and indeed only here, whether that is not called a *Good Peace* by one Side, which is not called a *Good Peace* by the other; and so we are brought down by both Parties to the great Enquiry, which is the Subject of the present Discourse, *viz.*

*What is to be understood, by a GOOD
PEACE?*

In pursuing this Enquiry impartially, it will come of course that we consider the Mistakes which People are naturally led into about this Question, and the various Constructions which the Men of this Day are pleased to put upon this Word; which Construction varies as Interest, Party and Opinion leads them.

I shall not spend Time to enquire how it comes to pass, that there are at this time such Mistakes, and so many Opinions upon so plain a Question; and how a Nation so clear-sighted as we are, comes to see with such differing Views, put such a differing Sense upon a Word of such Consequence at such a Time as this. For really the unhappy Breach of Parties among us, and the Prejudices which constantly attend those Party-Divisions, give us but too plain a Method how to account for them: And it must be, that Men being blinded by their Passions, and their Prejudices, are deprived of the clear and uninterrupted Use of their Judgment, give their Opinions with partiality, as the several Interests of the Parties they espouse influence their Judgments.

To

To come at a right understanding of what we call a good *Peace*, it seems necessary, with plainness and freedom, to lay down a little Historically the State of the War as it respects *Britain*, and her Allies; and this I shall do as plainly and briefly as I can.

After the Peace of *Reswick*, for I shall go back no farther; the King of *France* having recognized King *William*, settled all the Reunions, and surrendered to the Confederates what was agreed to be Surrendered; *Europe* had a pleasing Prospect of a happy and a lasting Peace; there was but one Event which had any thing in it Fatal, or Threatning to the Tranquility of this Part of the World, and this was the Death of *Charles II.* King of *Spain* without Issue; which tho' it was not then happened, yet it was probable could not be far off. However, to prevent the Evil Consequences which such an Event might bring upon *Europe*; and as the Preamble to the Treaties of Partition says to prevent a new War: The Two Kings of *England* and *France*, with the States-General, entered into a Convention or Treaty, for bringing all the Claims, and Pretensions to that Succession to a Balance, this is the so much controverted Treaty, called *The Treaty of Partition*; in the Preamble to which, are the

the following Words relating to what I am now treating of.

Be it known to all who shall see these Presents, That the most Serene and most Mighty Prince Lewis XIV. &c. And the most Serene and most Mighty Prince William III. &c. And the States-General, &c. Desiring nothing more Heartily, than to strengthen by New Engagements, the good Intelligence re-established between them, (there is keeping up the Peace they had made) and to prevent by Measures taken in Time, the Events that might raise new Wars in Europe, have to that End, &c. (There's Safety against future Troubles) and so he goes on to the Articles of the Partition. Vide Treaty, Page 381.

After the end of this Transaction, Europe was in a perfect Tranquility, I mean as to Nations; for as to Peace at Home, God knows we enjoy'd less of it than ever. But Heaven healed our needless Breaches, by making two real Breaches upon us; and finding the Nation Sick, and Surfeited with the little Peace we had; he visited us with a New War, and the Death of the King.

The New War began purely on the French side, who made himself Aggressor by

two

two Steps taken in a direct Contravention to the Solemn Treaties he had made; tho' those Treaties were ratify'd, and exchange'd in due Form, and so fairly executed, that Europe, and especially England entirely disarm'd, laid by their Fleets, and broke their Troops, reducing the Establishment of Forces to the Strict or Limitation of a profound Peace.

The two Steps, I speak of, which the French took to break this Peace, were (1.) The Owning, Declaring, and Complimenting the Pretender by the Style and Titles due to King William, as King of England, Scotland and Ireland, notwithstanding the Article in the Treaty of Rastatt, by which he had before acknowledg'd King William. (2.) The other, was the Seizing and Taking Possession of the whole Spanish Monarchy, by Virtue of a Will, or pretended Will of King Charles II. to the Duke of Anjou, and declaring the said Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, &c. notwithstanding his Agreement and solemn Ratification of the Treaty of Partition then in Force. These things produced a War as Universal to this Part of Europe as ever was engag'd in; which has now been carry'd on Nine Year and 6 Months, from May the 4th, 1701. to Octob. the 7th, 1711. Of the Successes and probable End of which I need not enlarge here, it may come to be spoken of again.

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I must do his most Christian Majesty that Justice, as to say, I never saw or heard, that in all his Manifestoes or Declarations of, or concerning this War, he ever stoop'd to give many Reasons, why he took either of the Steps, except only his own Will and Pleasure, viz. That *so he had thought fit to do;* (viz.) We have thought fit rather to accept the said Gift of the late King Charles to Our said Grandson, &c. — and we have thought fit to salute the said Prince (meaning the Pretender) by such and such Titles, and the like.

But the more his Majesty thought fit to take those uncommon Steps, and the less Reason he was pleased to give for them, the greater and the juster Reasons they were, why the Confederates should enter again into that War which was the Consequence of it; and this is evidently taken hold of in that Sense by the *English* and the *Dutch* in their Respective Declarations of War, as follows:

Whereas, instead of giving the Satisfaction that ought justly to be expected, the French King has added therunto (Note, that is, unto the Seizing the Spanish Monarchy) a great Affront and Indignity to Us and Our Kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the Pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland,

Scotland and Ireland, and has also influenc'd Spain to concur in the same Affront and Indignity; we find Our Selves obliged for maintaining the Publick Faith for Vindicating the Honour of Our Crown, and to prevent the Mischiefs which all Europe is threatned with, to declare War, &c.

I recapitulate these things, because from these Foundations will best be inferr'd what ought to be esteem'd by all the Confederates, A GOOD PEACE; which is bringing it down to the Case before me, and of which I shall speak again in its Course.

When the King of France had thought fit, as above, to take these two Steps, Europe immediately broke out into a Flame, the People of England resenting in a particular Manner, the Affront put upon their King, in the King of France setting up a Pretender against him, after he had solemnly own'd his Title, and made Treaties with him as King; and Addresses flow'd from all Parts of the Kingdom to the King, expressing their Detestation of that Treatment, and pressing His Majesty to a War.

The other Allies, as much resenting the King of France's seizing upon the Monarchy of Spain, and setting up his Grandson Philip V. prepar'd for War also upon that Account. Upon these mutual Grievances, was form'd the Treaty call'd the Grand Alliance;

Alliance; in which the particular Demands of the Allies, without which it is made Unlawful for them on either Hand, to make Peace, are particularly stipulated; with this exprefs Condition also, "That it shall not be lawful to any of the Confederates to treat of Peace with the Enemy, without the mutual Assent and Advice of the rest of the Confederates.— And here again you may have a stated Foundation for what we ought to call a *Good Peace*. Nor is there in any of these things, any feign'd Construction, or forc'd Sense, by which any one can be led to make the Terms of Peace, more or less: For this, like the Statutes of a Nation, is the Rule to go by.— *To the Law, and to the Testimony*, was the Word of Old: To the Grand Alliance, and to the Declaration of the Reasons of the War, is the Word with me, and I believe will be so with all Impartial Men in the World.— Here is the Cause of your making War; here is your declar'd Resolution when it shall End, and 'till when it shall not End; and when these Ends are answer'd, the Causes, the Reason, and the Original Motion of the Grand Alliance cease.

And here I must touch a very nice Point, and which yet I shall do plainly, and with Respect, I shall be the last Man in *Britain* that shall endeavour to lessen the Duty and Regard

regard that the People of this Nation ought
 to pay to the Votes, Opinion or Declara-
 tions of the Parliament, which is our
 true Representative, and whose Actions are
 our own.—But speaking in the Language
 of the Confederacy, I say, with humble
 Submission, no Vote, no Address, no de-
 clar'd Opinion of the Parliament, as to
 the Terms of the Peace, can alter at all the
 Foundation of the War, or bind the rest
 of the Confederates beyond the Obliga-
 tions they are under, by Virtue of the Al-
 liances and Stipulations of Confederacy they
 are already engag'd in.

Thus as it is not in the Power of any of
 the Confederates, legally to make Peace,
 or treat of Peace, without common Con-
 sent, &c. So neither is it in the Power of
 any of the Confederates to impose farther
 Conditions upon the rest, or to say we will
 not make Peace, unless such or such things
 be obtain'd, although those things are not
 express'd in the said Grand Alliance, which
 is the only obligatory Limitation of Peace
 and War.

To explain my self yet farther, with all
 possible Respect and Regard to the Confe-
 derates ; if any one of the Confederates, or
 the States or Parliament of their Country
 should Vote or Declare, That no Peace
 should be made with *France*, till such or
 such

such Conditions were obtain'd, were in putting the whole *Spanish* Monarchy into such or such Hands as they please to name; if such Conditions are not express'd in the *Grand Alliance*, I humbly conceive the rest of the Confederates are not oblig'd by that Vote.

I come still nearer to the Point, for as I hope, I say nothing offensive, so I need cover it with no Allegory or Similies, for I hate Disguises.—Our Parliament Voted, and Addressed, and gave it as their Opinion; and her Majesty concurr'd with that Opinion, That no Peace could be Safe and Honourable, while any Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy remain'd in the Possession of the House of *Bourbon*.——

But if this is neither express'd or imply'd in the said *Grand Alliance*, which is the Compact and the binding Principle of the War, I leave it to any impartial Hand to make out, how far would these Votes or Addresses be binding upon the rest of the Confederates.

This is to me an unanswerable Proof, that the *Grand Alliance* is the Test, the Foundation to judge of the Condition of the Peace by; and whatever Treaty amounts to, or gives to us, all that is agreed to be demanded by that Treaty, may be called A GOOD PEACE, tho' it should not come up to the future Opinions of any set of People whatsoever.

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From the Votes and Addresses of the *British* Parliament, I come to the *late Treaty*, if it be proper to call it a Treaty, of the Preliminaries settled at the *Hague* by Monsieur *Torcy*, and the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies.

If by these Preliminaries, the Confederates push'd *France* to a farther Length than the Treaty of *Grand Alliance* had concerted, well and good ; my Answer is this,

If the Confederates thought they had found an Opportunity to gain more of *France* than they had set as the negative Bounds of Peace, no Body can blame them, especially if they had obtained it ; I believe every Honest Man wishes with me, they had obtain'd it. *But I will not say for this*, that no Peace on less Conditions than those Preliminaries, provided within the limits declar'd by the *Grand Alliance*, would have been
A GOOD PEACE.

As to the Objection which some make, *viz.* That by their insisting on those extraordinary Advantages they lost all the rest, and push'd the King of *France* to Extremities, which made him choose to run all Risques, rather than comply with them ; and that they might have had as much as the *Grand Alliance*

ance required, and as much as they had pretended to one another to make War for. As to this I say, they are none of the Objections I am upon, nor are they of any Use to the present Purpose.

The Question before me is, What is the proper Foundation of A GOOD PEACE at this time? To which my Answer is, as before, *The Grand Alliance* is the Test of a *Good Peace*; yet as much more as you can, I will never be the Complainer: But I dare not say, that when what is there demanded, can be obtain'd, you have any just Reason to carry on the War to obtain more; at least, unless all the Confederates agree to do so; for nothing beyond it can be Obligatory upon the whole.

It remains then, that all which shall be said farther relating to a Peace, must be a Comment upon this Text.

There is an Event happened since the making that Alliance, which in that Alliance there is no Provision made for; and which, had it been foreseen, the Allies no doubt, would have made some proper Article to have settled, This is the Death of the Emperor; and this Accident may give us Room to enquire, Whether it does not make some needful Alterations in the Terms on which we are to insist for Peace? My

My Answer is plain, *I wish some People would bear with my plainness* ; I say it does not : And here without Fear, or Regard to Power, or Parties, I shall say some Things which I do believe will startle Man kind a little in this Case ; at least, if we consider the popular Notions which spread among us.

We have been push'd on, to set up the taking *Spain* from *King Philip*, as the R E S T or Stay of the Confederates ; as a Thing that we are all ruin'd and undone without ; and the Parliament Vote, Address, and Declare their Opinion, as before, That *no Peace can be Safe, or Honourable without it*. And yet I must tell you,

There is not one Word of Recovering all the *Spanish* Monarchy, out of the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*, in all the Grand Alliance ; so that none of the Confederates are under any Obligations to go that particular Length, and not make Peace without it.

My Argument turns upon this Point then, of which this is the Abstract :

A Peace may be Honourable, if made according to the Tenour of the Grand Alliance ;

But the Recovering all the *Spanish* Monarchy from the House of *Bourbon*, is no part of the Tenour of the Grand Alliance :

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Therefore a Peace may be Honourable; tho' some part of the *Spanish* Monarchy should remain to the House of *Bourbon*.

If in this way of Arguing, I am put to prove the Assumption, (*viz.*) *That a Peace may be Honourable, if made according to the Tenour of the Grand Alliance*; I make it out thus: The Grand Alliance is a Convention of all the Allies, declaring all the Grievances for which they make War, and on what Terms only they will make Peace.

If all the Reasons inducing the War are answered, and all the Demands upon which the War is Declar'd are obtain'd, it can be no longer Just to make War; when it is no longer Just to make War, it is Just we should make Peace; and whatsoever is Just in this Case, is Honourable.

I return to the Grand Alliance, I say, There is not one Word of the Terms of Peace, which are mentioned in the Address of the Parliament, to be found in the Grand Alliance.

The Terms of Peace limited by the Grand Alliance are these, and none but these.

1. *An equitable and reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, for his Pretensions to the Spanish Succession.*
2. *A particular and sufficient Security of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dominions, Navies*

Navigation and Commerce for the Subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain, and the States General. See for this, the Treaty of Grand Alliance, entred into by the Three Powers, the *Empire, England, and Holland*; *Septemb. 7. 1701.* *Artic. 1. and 8.*

The Observation therefore is *not mine* ly, it is the Nature of the thing; let any one tell me how from hence does it appear, that we must fight particularly till not one Branch of the *Spanish Monarchy* remain to the House of *Bourbone*, or that our Peace will be neither Safe nor Honourable without it.

2. I do farther say, and I appeal to the Knowledge of all who were then in the Management of Things, That it was in part, and in private agreed, If the King of *France* had complied with the Evacuating Article, as proposed at *Ghertraydenberg*; That to save *Europe*, the farther Distractions of the War, and prevent the Effusion of Blood, some small Allotment should have been made to King *Philip V.* and this Allotment was in their Eye; and according to what appear'd, was to be *Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, &c.*— Now, this was part of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and *Philip* was of the House of *Bourbon*.

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The Consequence of this must then be, according to the Parliaments Address, That they would have made Peace which was neither *Safe nor Honourable*.

Nor was this all; But, 3. The Parliament was kept at hand by small Adjournments, in order, if need were, to have the Necessity of receding from that Vote, or Address, or Opinion, call it what you will in order to a Peace, made appear, *These are the Things which I say may startle Mankind.*

Now, Gentlemen, pray let me ask, Does the Vote, or Opinion of the Parliament make the Conditions of a Peace Safe and Honourable? Or is it so in the Consequence and by the Nature of the thing it self? I desire to pay a just Deference to the Opinion of Parliaments, but never against the Reason and Nature of Things.

Again, the Parliament was to have been desir'd, if it had been found necessary, to have receded from that Vote, — What would they have said to the Houses? Would they have ask'd them to Vote for a Peace, which was in their Opinion, not *Safe or Honourable*? No, no, they would have alledged, That such and such things being agreed, it was judg'd both Safe and Honourable, and the House must have been desir'd to alter their Opinion.

And

And now, Gentlemen, let no Man mistake me, I am not reflecting on the late Ministry in this, or on the late Parliament; this is what they ought to have done: No Doubt, as Cases and Things alter, the Opinions of Men must alter, and Reason requires that they should alter their Opinions; let them be Kings, Queens, Parliaments, or any Body of Men in the World.

This was the Case in the Treaty of Partition; what pass'd upon that Affair, I need not repeat: But if such a Treaty should yet be found necessary, I make no Question, it shall be yet voted Safe and Honourable; all other and former Opinions to the contrary notwithstanding.

I have hinted this, because I know our People run away with it, That the Parliament having made that Address, and given it as their Opinion, That no Peace can be good, i. e. *Safe and Honourable*, but as before, that all the *Spanish* Monarchy be taken from the House of *Bourbon*; and that therefore this only is the Test of A GOOD PEACE, which I think is fairly, and I hope modestly too, confuted.

I have nothing to do in this Discourse, with whom this or that Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy should be given to: I am upon the General, and with all Humble Submission to Parliaments Addresses An-

swers, That I think it appears with a *Non obstante* to what of that Kind has past, *viz.* That a Safe and Honourable Peace may be made, tho' every Branch of the *Spanish* Monarchy should not be recovered from the House of *Bourbon*.

This I lay down as my General.

I cannot dismiss this Head, without observing two Things, which being rightly understood, will take off all that any one may think in this is reflecting upon the late Parliament.

1. That *as the Case stood then*, that Vote was agreeable to the State of Things in the World; and to the Prospect the Confederates had before them, both of the Possibility of that Conquest, and of the Necessity of it.
2. That *as the Case stands now*, it is more than probable, that same Parliament, in the same Interest, and with the same Designs, would have been of another Opinion.

Alteration of Circumstances must for ever be allow'd to be a Reason for Alteration of Opinion, in all Cases in the World; nor is it any Reproach to the Wisdom or Integrity of that Parliament, to say, That what might be absolutely necessary then, may be otherwise now.

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I am none of them that leave my Readers to guess at Cases, or need that any one should ask, *What* are these Alterations of Circumstances which have happened since, and which make this Difference, or whether, and how it is more safe to leave part of the *Spanish* Monarchy in the House of *Bourbon* now, than it was before?

My Answer is direct, The Revolution which has happened in the House of *Austria* since that time, whereby the Imperial Crown is fallen to the same Person to whom was then allotted the Crown of *Spain*; is the Alteration which I speak of; and I cannot but believe, that according to the Treaty of Partition, and according to the receiv'd Opinion of *Europe*, for some Ages, it would never be judg'd Safe that the Crown of *Spain* should ever be permitted to be given to the Person of an Emperor, any more than of a King of *France*.—— This is an Opinion founded upon all the Principles of Safety, which the Princes of *Europe* have acted upon for above 70 Years past, (*viz.*) *The Balance of Power*, which by such a Coalition or Conjunction of Power would be entirely broken and dissolved.

Will any Man believe of the last Parliament, that they would have been of the Opinion, to have given the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the Person of an Emperor of *Germany*?

Germany? Will any Man say, that no Peace can be *Safe* or *Honourable*, but what shall put all the Dominions of the *Spanish Crown* into the Hands of *Charles VI.*? It is no Dishonourable Account to give of his Imperial Majesty, to say it would make him too Great for the rest of *Europe* to be easie under; I think I might be allow'd to say the same of the Queen of *England*.

But I meet with an Objection here, which should be spoken to, (*viz.*) What is this to the Purpose? The Parliaments Vote is not upon *who you shall give it to*, but *who you shall take it from*; not *who shall have it*, but *who shall not have it*. To this Cavil, *for it is no more*, I answer, that neither do I say *who should have it*, but *who should not*; and let this lie for those to Answer to whom it belongs: I know the Question is invidious and ensnaring; and tho' I could Answer it, I believe, Effectually, and to Satisfaction, yet it is not to our Purpose here, and for that Reason I wave it.

The *Two Negatives* lye before us; The House of *Bourbon* must not have it, say the Addresses, The Nature of the Thing says *Now*, the Person you would have given it to, must not have it; *What then will you do with it?*

And this brings me home to the Original Question, What is to be called A GOOD
PEACE?

PEACE? As then I have thus stated the Question, I shall come to a direct Answer as freely as possible.

1. That *alone* can be A GOOD PEACE, where none of the Parties are vested with so much Power as overthrows the Balance of *Europe*.

2. That *alone* can be A GOOD PEACE, wherein the Great Articles of the Grand Alliance, which were the Beginning, and are the Foundation of the War, are fully answered.

In these two Generals are comprised all the Particulars, which require any Explanation in this Affair.

1. None of the several Parties are to be vested with so much Power as overthrows the Ballance of *Europe*; that this would be the Case of the *Spanish* Monarchy were it united either in the Person of a King of *France*, or of an Emperor of *Germany*, seems so plain, as needs no farther Debate, and the Reader is only referr'd for Proof of it.

For the First, to the King of France.

For the Second, to King William.

I'll give it you under both their Hands, if any Man can quote better Authority, he is wellcome.

1. *The King of France*: His most Christian Majesty very frankly acknowledges for his part, That it is *not Safe for Europe*, that the Crown of *Spain* should be enjoy'd by the SAME PERSON who is King of *France*, this you have in the Proposals of Peace, made in his Name, and now under Consideration, Signed by Monsieur *Messager* as follows;

That he will freely and bona fide consent, to the taking of all just and reasonable Measures, for hindring that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may never be united on the Head of the same Prince; His Majesty being perswaded that this Excess of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of Europe. Vide the 11th Proposal.

2. *The late King William*: His Majesty, Declares in the Solemn Treaty between *England*, *Holland* and *France*, called *The Second Treaty of Partition*; That that Treaty being made for the Good and Safety of Europe, and to prevent future Wars between the Confederates therein named, That the Crown of *Spain* should never come to be enjoy'd by the Person of an Emperor, or a King of *France*, in these Words;

If the most Serene Arch-Duke should die without Issue, either before or after the Death of the Catholick King, the Share which is hereby assigned to him, shall come to such Male Child of the Emperor, or of the King of the Romans, *Except* the King of the Romans, **MARK THAT**, as his Imperial Majesty shall assign it to; but on Condition that the said Part shall never be United, nor belong to the Person of him who shall be Emperor, or King of the Romans, or is become one of the other, be it by Succession, Will, Contract of Marriage, Donation, Exchange, Cession, Appel, Revoit, or otherwise; as in like manner, the said Share of the Serene Arch-Duke shall never come, or belong to the Person of a Prince, that is or shall be King, or Dauphine of FRANCE.

Thus you have the Royal Authority of both these Crown'd Heads, to prove what I have asserted in the First General.

2. That *alone* can be A GOOD PEACE wherein the Great Articles of the Grand Alliance, which were the Beginning, and are the Foundation of the War, are fully answer'd.

For Evidence of this, we need go no farther than the Grand Alliance it self.

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The Terms of the Grand Alliance, are these:

1. That an Equitable and Reasonable Satisfaction be given to His Imperial Majesty, for his Pretension to the Spanish Succession. Vide Grand Alliance, Artic. II.

Note here, If the Allies had understood that the whole Spanish Monarchy had devolv'd to him as his Right, let me ask these Questions:

1. Why is it called SATISFACTION FOR the Succession? Why is it not rather said, 'Till he be put into POSSESSION of the Spanish Monarchy? It would certainly have been express'd otherwise, if it had been meant, He should ever possess it as Emperor.
2. Why is it call'd his Imperial Majesty's Pretension to the Succession, and yet put into the Hands of his Brother King Charles?

I must be excus'd making two Remarks upon this: 1. Satisfaction for the Succession plainly infers, His Imperial Majesty was never understood to be the Person that should succeed? It would never else have been

been called *Satisfaction for it*. This implies an Equivalent with which he was to be satisfied instead of it, and plainly acknowledges, that the Confederates never dreamt of making an Emperor of *Germany* to be also King of *Spain*. 2. Whereas it is called his Imperial Majesty's Right of Succession, why then was it given to King *Charles*? It is evident, this transferring the Crown by Gift to King *Charles III.* at the same time that we exploded King *Charles II.* devising it by Gift to King *Philip*, was but an odd Title, and gave such a Handle to Confirm *K. Philip's* Right (his Gift being prior to the other) as I never yet could see answer'd. But waving that which I have formerly insisted on, and which is now no more a Question, the Emperor being dead. This Argument may be drawn from it, which I believe can never be answer'd; That the Emperor demitted his Right to his Brother, because it never could be allow'd tolerable, nor so much as to be thought of, that ever the Allies would agree, an Emperor of *Germany* should have it, as the very same Foundation of Exorbitance which they were then declaring and fighting against in the King of *France*.

The King of *France* then, and the Emperor finding that on both Sides, the taking the Crown of *Spain* to themselves, would

not go down with the rest of *Europe*, they respectively put a Third Person in the Place. *Philip*, and *Charles*, and both of them, claim the Crown of *Spain* by Gift, neither having any real Title.

Fate now has decided the Point on one Side, for King *Charles* is taken out of the Contention, and made Emperor.—Can he then be King of *Spain*? Certainly, by any of the former Notions of *Europe*, he can never be so received.—Well, what is next? Have we any other Branch of the House of *Austria* to make a Gift to? If we have, let us see him; if we have not, what follows, but to make such a Treaty as in which the Balance of *Europe* may be secured, and such Powers erected as may reciprocally prevent either the House of *Bourbon*, or *Austria*, overrunning *Europe*; and this I shall call A GOOD PEACE, let who will find out the Medium to bring it to pass. —

The first thing I shall hint from this Observation, is — This makes me easie, and I believe, if consider'd, would make us all easie on the Subject of a Treaty.

Let who will be the Agents, let what will be the Proposals, the Nature of the thing is such, no Party can suggest that we should not have a Regard to the Balance of *Europe*; no Peace can be treated on, but upon this Foot: The establishing some Rule
of

of Power, some Generals for the Boundaries of National Interest, such as may limit the Princes of *Europe*, and prevent future Encroachments one upon another.

For this Reason, I cannot but think we should all be willing to come to talk of these things—Certainly, to Treat of them, can be of no prejudice; nor can I allow it to be a good Argument, to say, That the *French* always gain upon us by a Treaty. This is to call all the Confederates Fools, and say, they do not know what they would have; that they make War for they know not what; that they have Generals to fight, but no States Men to treat; that they have Hands, but no Heads; and that all *Europe* are not able to maintain their Arguments against Five *French*-Men, Plenipotentiaries.

The *French* make Proposals; they would put by the Way of treating by Preliminaries, and come to a General Treaty at once; And why should we not venture them at a Treaty? We can insist upon every thing at a General Treaty, as well as at a particular, and can stand to all the necessary Points of the Grand Alliance, as well there as at another time.

The treating brings us not the nearer; if *France* does not come up so reasonable Things, we are where we were. The War

War goes on, nothing is abated of the Vigour of our Armies, or of the needful Preparations ; the War indeed may influence the Treaty : Thus it was at the Treaty of *Westphalia*, which held at least Eight Years ; thus it was at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, which lasted Two Campaigns, yet both at last came to a Conclusion, and so may this perhaps ; if it does not, we are never the farther off of Victory, nor the Enemy ever the nearer the End they aim at.

It seems therefore something wonderful to me, that People should be alarm'd at a Proposal to treat ; we may treat without a Peace, but we can never have a Peace without treating : All that we are alarm'd at hitherto, is the Suggestion or Suspicion of a private Treaty ; to bring it then to an open fair *Publick Treaty*, is the most effectually way both to remove the Suspicions of such a Treaty on one Hand, and to take away the Pretensions for it on the other.

Some alledge a Party among us are against Peace, are for perpetuating the War, and have their private Ends in view, to be pursued at the Publick Expence. I am in hopes there are no such People among us ; however, those People opposing a Treaty, give the best Argument that those that think so can wish for, to support that Allegation ; it is alledged on the other Hand,
That

That *Clandestine Negotiations* are on Foot, and those that say so, fill the People with Suspensions, and Apprehensions of such Things as I hope are not in any One's Head to attempt. *A Treaty* would effectually remove all those Jealousies, and clear up the Reputation of both Parties.

At a Treaty, all the Allies will be present by their Plenipotentiaries, every Thing will be fully, fairly and openly discuss'd; if any Member of the Confederates are easier, and willinger to be imposed upon than they ought to be, they will be set to Rights in Judgment, or over-rul'd in Vote by the other; if any Member of the Confederacy is more rigid, or more backward, harder to be satisfied with Reason, or forwarder to continue the War than consists with the General Interest, he will be reduced to Reason by the Perswasions, or over-rul'd by the Voices of the other.

The *French* are not so considerable an Enemy, that we should be afraid to Engage with them any farther in the War; or so inconsiderable, that we should think it below us to Treat; a Treaty takes off all Objections, tho' they do not propose enough to form a *Good Peace*, yet in a Treaty we may bring them to it. I can see many Objections against their Proposals indeed, but I cannot see one against a Treaty.

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In a Treaty a Thousand Things may occur, and be said, that may in the End happily Issue this Great Affair in A GOOD PEACE; as I said in the beginning, I find every one joining in their desire to have a good Peace, but how shall they obtain it without a Treaty? A Treaty takes it out of the Hands of those you may suspect, and puts it into the Hands of the Confederates in General; if any Concessions are made to *France*, which you are afraid of, there they will be discussed, there they will be examined; the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies on every Side will be watchful, that the Distribution of the Dominions be not partial and unequal to one or to another; that every one has Justice, and that no Advantage be given more on one hand than another. The Plenipotentiaries of all the Parties are Arbitrators of every particular Interest respectively.

Certainly a Treaty would end all this Strife; if the *French* are Sincere in their Offers, and in their Proposals for a General Peace, it will appear; if they are not, they will be detected: The Securities they will offer, will be here disputed, the Validity of them determined; if they are rejected, the Reasons for rejecting them will appear; and if we must carry on the War again, the Necessity will appear; so that
People

People will be satisfied with it, and the more Chearfully bear the Expence. Moreover, the Scandal of designing to perpetuate the War will be removed, and every one will see for themselves, why the Treaty broke off, and why the War is carryed on: If a Peace ensue, it is not the less likely to be A GOOD PEACE, for having the whole Body of the Confederate Ministers consenting to it, and coming into it.

I cannot imagine upon what Foot any one can pretend to be backward to a Treaty, and I am the first to put this Notion of mind in here at this length, because I think it is the only Method to bring the variety of Opinions now among us, to a Point; to reconcile us to one another a little, and to establish our private Peace, by putting an end to the present Disputes among us; a Thing every good Man wishes for, and a Thing none can deny we extremely want.

I cannot but think those People very much mistaken, both on one Side or other, who oppose a Treaty; *some say* a Treaty will be to no Purpose, and will but amuse us, and all *Europe*; that it is plain, the Confederates will insist on the Surrendring all the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, and that the *French* will not part with it,

it, and therefore the War must go on, till the *French* find themselves in such Circumstances as to be obliged to quit that sweet Morsel to save the rest: That a Treaty in the mean time is but amusing us, and is a particular Service to the King of *France*, as it buoys up his People in hopes of a Peace, and urges them to exert their utmost for a while longer, upon a prospect of a speedy Issue of all their Troubles. On the other Hand, some say a Treaty is design'd only to bring the Confederates into some Confusion about the *Spanish* Monarchy; and that some appearing less tenacious on that Head than others, will make them jealous of one another, divide them in Opinion; and that the *French* have more Room in a Treaty to lay hold of, and make Advantages from those Differences; and so a Treaty may be a Means to destroy the good Harmony of the Confederates, rather than to issue in a good Peace.

As to the First, It seems to have no strength of Reasoning at all in it; 'tis begging the Question, to say the Confederates will insist upon the evacuating the whole *Spanish* Dominions to the House of *Austria*; it is evident, as before the Confederates did appear inclin'd at the last Treaty, to yield some Point to *France*, and to allow King *Philip* to keep

keep Possession of some part of that Monarchy, rather than continue the Desolations of *Europe*; and this, when there was a distinct Branch of the House of *Austria* to possess the rest; it seems probable they may be inclin'd to make larger Concessions now. The Consideration of *Europe's* Desolations being as strong as before, and the House of *Austria* having now but one Head to receive the rest; to which Head there cannot be equal Reason for giving the rest, to what there was before; and of which Head there may be so many just Fears of the Danger of his possessing it — The Notion then of the Confederates being resolved to insist positively upon the Evacuation of the *Spanish* Monarchy without any Reserve, is not well grounded, and therefore not a just way of Arguing.

As to a Treaty being a Help to *France*, as it buoys up the Spirits of his People; by so much as he reaps an Advantage by that Momentary, Imaginary Aid — by so much, if it fails, will he suffer then in the Despair he will find his People reduc'd to, when they shall see those Hopes vanish, and that their Miseries are like still to be continued by the Obstinacy of their King, in hazarding their Ruine, to preserve not themselves

as *France*, but the Possession of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, by which they can propose to receive little or no Benefit when it is obtain'd, and will be expos'd to the utmost Desolation in the Disappointment.

This Digression brings me back to the Notion of the Confederates upon such a Treaty, making Concessions to *France* of some Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy—And this the People who object, say, cannot consist with A GOOD PEACE.

This Point must be clear'd up as we go, and therefore I resume it now; it is apparent, that as before, two Accidents make the Circumstances differ.

1. That there was even at the last Treaty, an apparent Willingness in the Confederates, to have made some Concessions to King *Philip*, which nevertheless were thought to be consistent with A GOOD PEACE.
2. That there is not now, as there then was, a Branch of the House of *Austria*, whom there was no Danger to *Europe* in Establishing on the *Spanish* Throne, and that therefore farther Concessions perhaps may not only be found consistent with, but may be essential to A GOOD PEACE.

It needs not that I should embarrass my self here with that ensnaring Party-making Question, What, and how much of the *Spanish* Monarchy may, and should, upon a Treaty, be given to the present Possessor. But to keep to the Text, *viz.* The Explanation of the General Term, *A Good Peace*, I shall lay down some Heads, which without Partiality or Respect to Parties in the least, but speaking really, and *bona fide*, with all possible Indifference, seem to me to be natural Deductions from the present State of Affairs in *Europe*; and by which, if coolly consider'd, we may come to understand, what is the true and genuine Meaning of the thing we are upon, (*viz.*) what we may call **A GOOD PEACE.**

1. That if on a Treaty, *France* should consent entirely to evacuate the *Spanish* Monarchy, and the Confederates should give up that Monarchy to the Emperor, the Ballance of Power in *Europe* would be entirely destroy'd, and therefore such a Conclusion could not be allow'd to be **A GOOD PEACE.**

2. That altho' some Part (*God forbid I should say what part, I have nothing to do with that*) of the *Spanish* Monarchy should be

be conceded to King *Philip* upon a Treaty, yet such Parts of it might be also given to the Emperor, as might be an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty for his Pretensions to the Spanish Succession, according to the very Words of the Treaty of the Grand Alliance quoted before.

3. That although some part of the Spanish Succession should by a Treaty remain to King *Philip V.* yet such fitting Security MAY be given by the King of *France*, and by King *Philip* respectively, as may be sufficient and Satisfactory to the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General, and their Allies, for their Kingdoms and Provinces, and for the Navigation and Commerce of their Subjects.

4. That such Treaty as shall end in obtaining such equitable and reasonable Satisfaction to the Emperor, and such Security to the rest of the Allies, may issue in a Firm, Lasting, Safe, Honourable and GOOD PEACE, although some Part of the Spanish Monarchy should remain to the present King *Philip V.*

This,

This, I think, may be allow'd, according to my Title, to be a full and plain Exposition of the Word **A GOOD PEACE**; and may tell us all, what we are to understand by it. Nor may it be altogether useless to us, in helping us to judge calmly and coolly of the Steps that are, or shall be taken towards it, either by Us, or by Our Allies.

By this we may determine, when these are too forward, and yield too much to *France*; or those too backward or refractory, as not to see when good Terms may be obtain'd; both which will prevent the mutual Reproaches which pass now on either Side, with so much ill Nature.

I know we have some, who fill our Ears with Clamours against our Enemies; and answer all Arguments, with telling us, that the King of *France* is sincere in nothing; that he designs to keep no Treaty any farther, or longer, than till he is in a Condition to break it.——That he visibly design'd, from the beginning, to annex the *Spanish* Monarchy to the Kingdom of *France*, and does so still; and the Consequence of this, is, by their own Confession, That we should neither treat of Security, or Evacuation, or any Thing else; but that our only Safety consists in reducing the King of *France*. To

To what we must reduce him, how, and when it shall be done, and when we shall be allow'd to have reduc'd him enough, they do not undertake to determine. Indeed, these are Gentlemen I cannot join with; and I doubt, it is such as these that give some People so much Ground to say, That there are a Party, who are for perpetuating the War.—I am as willing to be Sanguine upon the War as any Body; and if it were continued, should be as willing to be hopeful of Success.—But to say, that the King of France cannot put us into such a Case by a Peace, as MAY effectually prevent him ever annexing Spain to France, and that this is his avow'd Design in this, and in all Treaties, is such a Confirmation of what has been all along offer'd by others, viz. that a few Years would make King Philip as much a Spaniard as he was an enemy to France as any King of Spain before him, that I wonder to hear Men of Sense bring it for an Argument; and a Man can hardly refrain telling such Men, that they are arguing for our giving up Spain to King Philip.

Lewis XIV. has set up Philip Duke of Anjou, upon the Spanish Throne, and has fought hard to keep him in Possession, in Gratitude

and Duty to his Grandfather, I doubt not but Philip V. would on all Occasions do any thing for his Grandfather that lay in his Power; but if now after a Peace should be made, supposing, for Argument sake, that Peace were to give Spain to King Philip; let us bring in the King of France writing such a Letter as this to his Grandson.

Monf. My Grandson,

I Have set you up upon the Spanish Throne, and caused you to be Establish'd in that Kingdom by all the Confederates in a General Treaty of Peace. But, as my Design in setting you up, was only to transfer the Crown of Spain into my Kingdom of France; so I expect that now you will resign all those Dominions to Me, and come hither to Versailles, where you shall be receiv'd with all Paternal Care and Affection.

LOUIS.

Will any Man say that Philip will immediately Obey, resign his Crown and Kingdom, to the King of France, tho' he is his Grandfather, or had been his immediate Father, or were a thousand times nearer, if that could be?

Would not King Philip rather write a submissive Letter to him, acknowledging his Favour in preferring him to so great a Dignity, and his Kindness in maintaining him therein unto a General Peace; professing his Zeal for his Majesty's Interest, and his Readiness to hazard himself, and all his Kingdoms in his Majesties Service; But that he is now so engag'd to his Subjects, whose Fidelity has

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is so manifest, and they are so endeared to
him, that he is become the Father of his People,
and that he hopes his Grand-father will
not put him to such an Extremity to quit
those Kingdoms; and the Spanish Nation, who
have spent so much Blood to keep him in Possession,
and so in short Excuse himself, *that is,*
make a Decent Refusal.

If upon this, the King of *France*, went about
to invade him, Would he not say to him, that
his *Spanish* Subjects would by no means consent
to his Abandoning them, &c. and that they
are resolv'd to defend themselves; and would
he not rather fight his Grand-father, after all
he has done for him, than quit his Possession?
And I am sure you will all say, he would be
in the right to do so— And what would be
the Consequence of such Fighting? but that
very King *Philip* joining with the Allies, and
seeking to them for help against *France*.

And if this would be so under his Grand-
father, let any Man tell us what it would pro-
bably be in half an Age after to his Elder
Brother, if he being King of *France*, should
make such a Demand? Would not he, *Philip*,
Laugh at him, and bid him do his worst; and
in both Cases, fly to the Confederates, viz.
to *England*, *Holland*, and to the *Empire* for help?

This is so Natural and so unanswerably Just
to suppose— That let these People but make
it out, that this is the King of *France's* Design,
and that he is only making a Shew of King
Philip, but really resolves to annex *Spain* to the
Kingdom of *France*; I say, let them but make
this

this good ; and they have brought on the Stage the strongest Reason that ever was yet given, or ever will be, why all the Spanish Monarchy should be given to King Philip, and I Challenge them to Answer it if they can.

Let any one but ensure the Confederates, that the King of *France* will endeavour to annex *Spain* to the Crown of *France* after a Peace ; I dare say, none of the Confederates would scruple leaving King *Philip* upon that Throne—— But this is so wild a Notion, that I think it Merits to have no more Notice taken of it.

Two things this Discourse tends to ; 1. To remove that Notion, gotten among us, that all is Lost and Given up, if King *Philip* is not entirely Depos'd and Un-king'd, and the whole *Spanish* Monarchy taken out of his Hands by the Confederates ; a thing, I must confess, however I acquiesce in the Opinion of our Superiors, I never saw either Rational to be so strictly limited, or possible to be brought to Practise ; and a thing which those who adher'd to, yet tacitly own'd themselves wrong in, by keeping the Houses, by short Adjournments, just at Hand, to alter as they saw Occasion. 2. To Allarm us, and that with great Reason too, to Consider, Suppose we could take it from King *Philip* ; What the Danger of giving it now to the same Person to whom we would have given it before, will be ; and Lastly, To Convince us all, how reasonable it is that the Powers of *Europe* should in general

I think it better to have no more divided
Thrones — But this is to wish a Nation what
I think it better to have no more divided
Thrones — But this is to wish a Nation what
I think it better to have no more divided
Thrones — But this is to wish a Nation what

[illegible]

is the power of the people in the